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050016 NIA036

11/0623Z

SUBJECT: PUBLIC POLICY GUIDANCE 87-28 -- AFGHANISTAN

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THE MOST RECENT ROUND OF INDIRECT TALKS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN CLOSED INCONCLUSIVELY. THE TALKS ENDED WHILE STILL DEADLOCKED ON THE TIMETABLE FOR WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS - THE PRINCIPAL ISSUE REMAINING BEFORE THE PARTIES CAN INITIAL ALL FOUR AGREEMENTS IN THE NEGOTIATING PACKAGE.

WHILE ANOTHER GENEVA SESSION IS ANTICIPATED IN THE COMING MONTHS, THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES TO PRESS ITS "PEACE OFFENSIVE". HOWEVER THE WAR ALSO CONTINUES, PITTING THE MUJAHIDEEN RESISTANCE AGAINST THE SOVIETS AND THEIR SURROGATE FORCES, AND NOW FEATURES ATTACKS AGAINST VILLAGES ON THE PAKISTAN SIDE OF THE BORDER.

THE WHITE HOUSE HAS APPROVED THE FOLLOWING PUBLIC THEMES, WHICH REPRESENT THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT POLICY ON AFGHANISTAN. AGENCY OFFICERS SHOULD BE AWARE OF THESE THEMES, AND TAKE EVERY SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY TO USE THEM IN INFORMATION, MEDIA, AND CONTACT ACTIVITIES.

PUBLIC THEMES ON AFGHANISTAN

U.S. POLICY

-- TOWARDS THE AFGHANS: THE UNITED STATES SEEKS A JUST AND SPEEDY END TO THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN THROUGH THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES AND SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AFGHAN PEOPLE. TO THIS END, THE U.S. SUPPORTS THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE AND VIEWS THE RESISTANCE ALLIANCE AS A GENUINE SPOKESMAN OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. THE UNITED STATES JOINS OTHER FRIENDS OF AFGHANISTAN IN PROVIDING ALL APPROPRIATE ASSISTANCE TO THE AFGHAN PEOPLE, INCLUDING A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO ALL AFGHANS AFFECTED BY THE WAR.

-- TOWARDS PAKISTAN: WE STAND SQUARELY BEHIND PAKISTAN IN ITS SUPPORT OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE AND IN ITS EFFORTS TO END THE WAR. WE THUS VIEW WITH MOUNTING CONCERN THE RECENT ESCALATION OF SOVIET-INSPIRED CROSS-BORDER AIR STRIKES ON PAKISTANI VILLAGES AND OF SUBVERSION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. SUCH ATTACKS HAVE FOR YEARS BEEN A PART OF SOVIET POLICY IN AFGHANISTAN, BUT RECENT BOMBARDMENTS, IN WHICH 200 CIVILIANS WERE KILLED OR WOUNDED IN THE SPACE OF A FEW DAYS, ARE OF AN UNPRECEDENTED SCALE AND CONSTITUTE A MAJOR ESCALATION.

-- TOWARDS THE UNITED NATIONS: EVIDENCE OF U.S. INTEREST IN A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IS THE SUPPORT THE UNITED STATES GIVES THE U.N.-SPONSORED NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ACHIEVING A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN. THE U.S. OFFER TO GUARANTEE AN APPROPRIATE SETTLEMENT REACHED THROUGH THESE

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NEGOTIATIONS REMAINS ON THE TABLE.

-- TOWARDS THE SOVIET UNION: THE UNITED STATES LOSES NO OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE TO ITS SOVIET INTERLOCUTORS THAT WE SEEK NO STRATEGIC ADVANTAGE IN AFGHANISTAN AND THAT A JUST SETTLEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN WOULD REMOVE A MAJOR OBSTACLE IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. IN MARCH, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE ARNOLD MET WITH SENIOR SOVIET OFFICIALS IN MOSCOW FOR A FRANK EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON AFGHANISTAN. ALTHOUGH NO BREAKTHROUGHS WERE ACHIEVED, DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL CONTINUE. SHOULD MOSCOW DECIDE TO WITHDRAW ITS FORCES, THIS PERMITTING SELF-DETERMINATION IN AFGHANISTAN. THE UNITED STATES WOULD FACILITATE THAT DECISION.

-- THE PATH TO A SOLUTION: WE WELCOME RECENT SOVIET PROPOSITIONS OF INCREASED INTEREST IN ACHIEVING A SETTLEMENT. MOSCOW'S LANGUAGE ON THE WAR, AND THAT OF THE KABUL REGIME, CONTAINS SOME NEW ELEMENTS. OUR HOPE IS THAT THESE WORDS WILL BE MATCHED BY THE DEEDS NEEDED TO END THE WAR. RECENT SOVIET PROPOSALS, WHILE SEEMING TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY, ARE ONE-SIDED AND ACCOMPANIED BY UNREMITTING MILITARY PRESSURE ON THE AFGHAN PEOPLE AND ON PAKISTAN. THUS, WE REMAIN SKEPTICAL AND URGES MOSCOW TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH.

-- A GENUINE SETTLEMENT MUST CONTAIN TWO ELEMENTS:

1. SOVIET TROOP WITHDRAWAL: PROMPT, IRREVOCABLE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES REMAINS THE KEY TO A SETTLEMENT. DESPITE SOME PROGRESS ON THIS ISSUE AT GENEVA, THE SOVIETS HAVE YET TO PROPOSE A TIMETABLE WHICH MEETS THESE CONDITIONS. THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT INSISTS THAT THE TIMETABLE SHOULD BE BASED ON LOGISTICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THUS MEASURED IN MONTHS. THIS LOGICAL POSITION ENJOYS OVERWHELMING SUPPORT IN THE ISLAMIC, NON-ALIGNED AND WESTERN WORLDS.

2. AFGHAN SELF-DETERMINATION: WHILE NOT EXPLICITLY AN ELEMENT OF THE U.S.-SPONSORED GENEVA TALKS, SELF-DETERMINATION IS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVING LASTING STABILITY IN AFGHANISTAN. MOSCOW HAS MADE MUCH OF THE KABUL REGIME'S SO-CALLED NATIONAL RECONCILIATION PROPOSALS AS THE BASIS OF A JUST POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. IN FACT, THESE PROPOSALS MASK A CONTINUING EFFORT AT SECURING KABUL REGIME DOMINATION OF AFGHANISTAN'S GOVERNMENT.

-- THERE ARE OTHER ISSUES WHICH NEED TO BE ADDRESSED IN PUTTING A SETTLEMENT INTO EFFECT:

- NATIONAL RECONCILIATION: ON JANUARY 17, THE RESISTANCE ALLIANCE CALLED FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A POPULARLY CHOSEN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION WHICH WOULD PRESIDE OVER THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES AND ORGANIZE NATIONAL ELECTIONS. BY CONTRAST, KABUL'S "NATIONAL RECONCILIATION" PROPOSALS SIMPLY REPACKAGED EARLIER SCHEMES FOR A COSMETIC BROADENING OF THE KABUL REGIME. THE AFGHAN PEOPLE HAVE REJECTED KABUL'S SCHEMES BY REFUSING TO JOIN THE REGIME'S "NATIONAL RECONCILIATION" EXERCISES OR, IN THE CASE OF THE REFUGEES, TO RETURN

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HOME.

AMNESTY: THE RESISTANCE ALLIANCE SPOKESMAN HAS OFFERED AMNESTY TO ITS OPPONENTS. THIS OFFER IS MAGNANIMOUS AFTER MORE THAN SEVEN YEARS OF BITTER FIGHTING.

CEASE-FIRE: KABUL'S CEASE-FIRE CALL PLACED THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE. ABSENT MOSCOW'S AGREEMENT TO WITHDRAW ITS FORCES, THE RESISTANCE ALLIANCE HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO REJECT THE PROPOSAL. THE CEASE-FIRE CALL WAS ALSO DUPLICIOUS IN THAT SOVIET AND KABUL REGIME FORCES DID NOT STOP THEIR OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS AGAINST RESISTANCE FORCES. THE ALLIANCE HAS STATED THAT THEY WOULD GUARANTEE SAFETY TO DEPARTING SOVIET TROOPS.

INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

-- IN THE PRESENT SITUATION, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS THE SOVIET UNION TO SUBSTITUTE ACTIONS FOR WORDS IN AFGHANISTAN. THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF GOVERNMENTS IN THE WORLD EXPRESS THEIR SUPPORT OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE WITH THEIR ANNUAL VOTES IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THIS SUPPORT SHOULD BE COMPLEMENTED BY GREATER ACCEPTANCE, THROUGH DIALOGUE AND, AS APPROPRIATE, THROUGH CONCRETE SUPPORT, OF THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE ALLIANCE AS A SPOKESMAN OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE. U/P/

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